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CHRONOLOGY -- COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

#36

19 Aug-1 Sept 1964

August 16 (delayed): Hungarian Party daily Nepszabadsag -- "Our party, together with the decisive majority of the sister parties, wishes to participate in a conference and will send its representatives to the drafting committee preparing the conference." It also condemns Chinese leaders for their faction-mongering, undermining activities, slander, and opposition to conference.

August 18 (delayed): Danish Party daily Land og Folk accuses expellees Appel and Scocozza, who made a pilgrimage to Peking, of having "faithfully copied Chinese terminology and argumentation" in a pamphlet by their pro-Chinese Danish splinter group Kommunistisk Arbejdskreds (Communist Working Circle). The pamphlet accuses the Danish CP of being "organizationally dead..." the K.A. would become an "open organization." The splinter group recently lost one of its followers, former Danish Communist Youth Chairman Groth, who, in a letter in the Danish press, charged that the new group had exchanged "dependence on Moscow" for "dependence on Peking."

August 19: Pravda dispatch from Nairobi, Kenya denounces Peking's "two-faced policy" in doing business with the imperialists and racists while advocating the struggle and liberation of the African peoples.

"A good friend of mine who spent over six years in the prisons of the South African Republic tells me: Our dockers occasionally unloaded foreign ships loaded with heavy crates from China. They contained great quantities of dynamite which Verwoerd is using for the struggle against our much suffering people....It goes without saying that the Peking Government's secret connections with the Verwoerd regime are carefully concealed and it is hard to obtain any exact figures on this score...."

Izvestiya article by Salamo Tabac, Brazilian chemist teaching at Moscow's Lumumba U., expressing "serious and legitimate misgivings of the world scientific public" about the purposes of the forthcoming Peking Scientific Symposium. "The contemptuous attitude of the Chinese colleagues toward the World Federation of Scientific Workers is also displayed in their attitude toward the leaders of this major international organization."

August 20: Soviet President Mikoyan unexpectedly headed a Soviet delegation to the Rumanian celebration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation from Nazi occupation, after a strong Chinese team was already on hand. A Soviet cruiser and two escort vessels also visited the Rumanian port Constanta.

Pravda publishes a letter from the French CP dated 6 August expressing "full accord with your proposals" and naming a 3-man delegation to the preparatory commission: Guyot, Leroy and Kanapa. (Letter published in L'Humanite, date not given.)

East German ADN announces same for SED: Matern, Axen, and Florin.

Peking People's Daily publishes text of New Zealand CP resolution adopted 25-26 July and published in the August issue of the New Zealand Communist Review. It reiterates CPNZ disapproval of CPSU proposals for an early conference and its view that further bilateral talks are necessary, "affirms that it is ready to continue those discussions "begun in Moscow last August between representatives of the CPSU and the CPNZ." The CPNZ "further suggests that the next meeting take place in NZ at a time to be mutually agreed." "Again, the National Committee contends that bilateral discussions between representatives of the CPSU and the Albanian Party of Labor are one of the basic prerequisites of a world meeting."

"It logically follows from the above that the National Committee should make approaches to other parties who are opposed to an early meeting of the world parties with the objective of exchanging views as to the attitude to be adopted toward attendance at such a meeting....

"Further, the Nat. Com. suggests that, if these circumstances arise, various avenues be explored in regard to the holding of a multilateral meeting of those who hold similar views to the CPNZ on world ideological issues. This meeting should be held with a view to an exchange of and coordination of policy points in relation to the holding of a world meeting...."

CPSU journal Partiynaya Zhizn (Party Life) sharply criticizes a pamphlet by CPNZ leader Wilcox on differences in the ICM. "Following the Peking propagandists, Wilcox attacks the test-ban treaty....Prior to publication of the CPR Government statement of 31 July 1963, the People's Voice warmly welcomed the conclusion of this treaty (e.g. on 24 July 1963 -- Tass). However, two weeks later Comrade Wilcox, as if at a command from some magic wand, issued a diametrically opposite statement, denying the correct theses of the Party's central organ...."

August 21: CCP theoretical journal Red Flag begins a new practice of publishing supplements at irregular intervals. No. 1 contains the 50,000-word text (sic) of CPNZ leader Wilcox's pamphlet on "World Communist Differences -- NZ Party's Firm Stand," written in March 1964, and an article from the Malayan Monitor: "The Malayan People's Experience Refutes Revisionists Fallacy."

August 21-31: The Chinese report attendance by "367 scientists from 44 countries and regions in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania" at the Peking Scientific Symposium (see Aug. 19 for denigration in Izvestiya). Names mentioned were almost entirely Afro-Asian: Complete harmony reported! Communique says they decided to hold another in Peking in 1968 and to set up a liaison office there to prepare for it, with the Chinese responsible for the liaison work.

August 22: Soviet economist Kollontai, Rymalgev, and Chekhutov add to previous Soviet criticism of the June Pyongyang Second Asian Economic Seminar, in an Ekonicheskaya Gazeta article "The National Liberation Movement in Peking's Crooked Mirror."

August 22-27: Death of Italian CP boss Togliatti (on 21st in USSR, see #35) precipitates great Communist political activity in Rome. CPSU Secretary Brezhnev, generally regarded as most likely Khrushchev successor, flew to Rome on 22nd for massive funeral 25th. Central Committee met on 26th, elected Togliatti's deputy Luigi Longo as successor. Longo reveals that Togliatti, just before his death, wrote a memorandum to CPSU leaders opposing Soviet plans for world conference; NYTimes reports from Rome on 30th, that CPI will soon publish it.

August 23: CP Canada, according to its Canadian Tribune, fully approves Moscow's conference proposals, will submit in writing its proposals to the preparatory commission and will take part in the international meeting.

August 24: Pravda, under heading "Convocation of a Meeting is Imperative," carries article by Canadian CP Chairman Tim Buck, now visiting USSR. Inter alia, he writes that "the CCP leaders have found allies in the Trotskyites. In America today the Trotskyites have become the main canvassers of the line of the CCP leaders. ...adopt the slogans of the Chinese leaders and become the most active distributors of Chinese propaganda literature."

August 25: Pravda prints a Lebanese CP statement of full support of the 15 June CPSU letter.

August 25-26: Tass reports on two strong anti-CCP articles and one criticizing the JCP organ Akahata in No. 12 of the CPSU theoretical journal Kommunist. A long editorial on Chinese economic views accuses them of "neo-Trotskyite revision of M-L teaching." "...The Chinese leaders still plan their economic construction primarily on military methods." Criticizing the Mao Tse-tung cult, it declares: "In economy as in other areas of life, the personality cult leads to grave consequences.... Chauvinistic intoxication does not permit them to draw correct conclusions from the grave mistakes they are making in managing the national economy." "Distinguished Soviet philosopher" Alexey Rumyantsev (also Chief Editor of Problems of Peace and Socialism) describes "Chinese-style Marxism" as "nationalistic content in a pseudo-Marxist envelope." Everything Mao Tse-tung has said or done is palmed off as the truth in its latest form...." In fiercely taking up arms against the 20th CPSU Congress, the CCP leaders "demonstratively emphasized that they regard themselves as the heirs and followers of those distortions which Stalin presented as the development of M-L." T. Timofeyev pointed to an Akahata article headed "Kennedy and U.S. Imperialism" as "one of the numerous 'theoretical' documents of the CCP leaders and their supporters seeking" ^{contradict} to "the conclusions of the Moscow meeting," and to "replace the Leninist line with a vicious concept in the neo-Trotskyite spirit." Kommunist also affirms that the proposal to convene an international conference has "universal support." It says "many of the 26 members ... have agreed to take part in preparing the new conference. Among them are the CPs of India, Argentina, France, Finland, Australia, Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and others."

August 27: Peking papers print "a speech delivered by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Albanian Worker's Party, repudiating Khrushchev's plot for a meeting to split the Communist and workers parties."

Izvestiya's Tokyo correspondent reports on the mass destruction of Soviet literature in Japan, organized by anti-Soviet elements in the JCP/CC. On one occasion, Soviet literature was used for heating bath water!

August 27 and continuing: Khrushchev on 10-day visit to Czechoslovakia tied to 20th anniversary of Slovak uprising against Nazi puppet government and including discussion of problems of the WCM. At anniversary rally on 29th in Banska Bystrica, he declared that the Chinese leaders "will not live to see the day" they can split the WCM.

August 28: The fifth volume of "anti-China material from the Soviet press," published by the "World Culture Publishing House" in Peking, includes "117 anti-China items." "The publication of such material will continue."

August 29: A long Pravda editorial on the 100th anniversary of the First International attacks the "Chinese petty-bourgeois deviants" who have "openly broken with the most important conclusions of the ICM." "Their position is a new variety of Trotskyism and left-wing opportunism, which in practice means capitulation in the face of imperialism."

People's Daily devotes 4 pages to text of 2 Aug. Akahata article on "The Modern Revisionist Theory Concerning the Social Democratic Parties."

August 30: Peking releases a CCP letter of this date to the CPSU in reply to the latter's letter of 30 July conveying plans for convening an international meeting. It begins:

"Completely ignoring the desire of many fraternal parties (FPs) for unity and their opposition to a split, your letter slams the door tight against consultations on the question of convening an international meeting ... and issues the order for an open split in the ICM."

The Chinese accuse the Soviets of "paying no heed whatsoever to our letter of 28 July," of arbitrarily deciding on the 26-member preparatory commission and deciding "even before the convening of your appointed drafting committee that an international meeting shall be held in the middle of next year, "whether or not all FPs participate."

"Thus the day in December 1964 on which you convene your drafting committee will go down in history as the day of the great split in the ICM."

The CPSU's assertion that its purpose is unity -- using many fine words in order to deceive public opinion -- is "a whopping lie." "In fact, you are banking on your subversion and disruption of FPs through your collusion with the imperialists and reactionaries and through your employment of rightwing social democrats, Trotskyites, defectors, and renegades." But the "FPs upholding M-L" will "grow in staunchness and numbers." "How can ants topple a giant tree?"

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tantamount to legalizing your illegal activities...

The statement reiterates the CCP stand in bold-face type:

"The CCP persists in its stand for an international meeting of the FPs for unity on the basis of M-L, to be held after ample preparations, and we are firmly opposed to your schismatic meeting.

"The CC/CCP solemnly declares: We will never take part in any international meeting or preparatory meeting for it, which you can call for the purpose of splitting the ICM."

It concludes by vowing that the CCP "is determined to carry to the end the struggle against your revisionism, your splittism, and your capitulationism. We have already warned you that the day you call a schismatic meeting will be the day you step into your grave. Your letter of 30 July ... (is) another long step toward this grave of your own digging. At this critical juncture, we hope you will weigh the pros and cons and choose carefully between continuing on the road to doom and turning back to safety."

The Chinese press front-pages the text of this letter and the 30 July CPSU letter on the 31st. The latter, as yet unpublished elsewhere, briefly sets forth the proposals and conditions which were discussed more fully in the 10 August Pravda editorial. NCNA announces that both letters have been published in book form.

The Chinese press featured two more documents opposing the proposed meeting: a statement by New Zealand CPSecyGen Wilcox from the 19 August issue of the Party weekly People's Voice and an article from the August issue of Vanguard, organ of the splinter "CP of Australia (M-L)."

Pravda has a long article by commentators Zhukov and Mayevsky contrasting "the unworthy methods used by the Chinese representatives and their henchmen" at the Tokyo ban-the-bomb conference with the "quiet and businesslike atmosphere" of the Hiroshima conference.

August 31: A 4,000-word editorial in North Korean Party daily Nodong Sinmun: "A Conference of Parties of Various Countries Which Will Bring About Division Should Be Stopped."

"Together with the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world, we are opposed to calling such an international conference ... and we will not participate in such a conference....

"All parties should, with their harmonious efforts, stop the conference.... We solemnly call on each party to realize its historic mission...."

All Peking papers reprint the full text on front pages on 1 September.

REFERENCES:

The Sino-Soviet Rift, by William E. Griffith. Cambridge, Mass.; The M.I.T. Press, 1964. Paperback, 508 pp. \$2.95
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This book concentrates particularly on the period beginning with the exchange of letters between Moscow and Peking -- March 1963 -- through November 1963. More than half of its volume is given to the full or excerpted texts of 16 major Soviet and Chinese documents during that period. In his preface, Dr. Griffith states that "It is intended to follow in sequence both The China Quarterly's first documentary volume on the subject, The Sino-Soviet Dispute, and Professor Alexander Dallin's Diversity in International Communism.

The volume is divided into three Parts;

- I. Introduction: Background to the Break.
- II. Russia and China to the Brink -- 19 chapters beginning with "Public Lull and Esoteric Controversy: February-August 1962" and ending with "Toward an International Communist Meeting?" plus a 9-page "Appendix: Sino-Soviet Economic Relations."
- III. The Dispute in Documents.

Also included are a useful chronology, an annotated selected bibliography, and a valuable 16-page index.